

Centralization.

If you want to ruin either a nation or a party, centralize it, and it will ruin itself without giving any additional trouble. The central clique laid out the Whig party in this State as cold as a wedge, in the last election for Governor. Perfectly flattened it.

Like causes produce like effects. The Democratic party has been defeated in its time; is liable to defeat again, unless the proper measures are taken to ensure success. But one of these measures is not centralization—is not cutting and making dry districts and local business at Raleigh. The really intelligent and patriotic members of the party there must feel this, and, we are certain, desire it as little as we do.

We published recently an extract from an article which appeared in a late number of our respected contemporary of the Goldsboro' Republican and Patriot, recommending the appointment, by the Convention, not simply of the two delegates from the State at large, but of all the delegates to the Baltimore Convention. We dissented from its recommendations then, and every day strengthens us in our opinion. Again and again will we re-iterate the expression of our opposition to any extension of the powers of central bodies at the expense of local ones, in matters of local jurisdiction. Neither is the difficulty removed by giving the suggestion of the names of the delegates to be appointed by the State Convention to the respective district delegations, because a change in the form of doing any thing of the kind, could not remove the unfavorable impression created by a suspicion of the influences under which it had been done.

Our friend of the Fayetteville Carolinian endorses the recommendation of the Republican & Patriot, placing us in the position of differing from two of our friends instead of one. We do not desire to be captious or fractious about mere matters of organization; but we cannot be blind to their consequences in securing ultimate success, and we therefore most earnestly request them and all other Democratic friends to ponder well before doing anything calculated to disturb established usage in favor of centralization.

Now that we have commenced, we will say a few words about another matter, and our remarks will apply equally to both parties, because the usage is about the same in both. In the selection of candidates, each county, whether represented by one delegate or one hundred, has simply the vote to which the same county is entitled in the more popular branch of the State Legislature. So far then as the selection of candidates is concerned, a State Convention is a State Convention in fact as well as in name. But on all other matters the vote is *per capita*, and as in all probability the delegates from Wake county outnumber those from two-thirds of the rest of the State, the Convention ceases to be in fact a Convention, and is really and to all intents and purposes a Wake county mass meeting. We have had little or no reason to complain of this, for we claim to know the cardinal principles of our party and to stand by them under all circumstances; and if, at times, there may be some unimportant differences between us and the resolutions adopted, we know that no principle is affected and we let it pass. But nevertheless the practice is a bad one, because calculated to defeat one important end of State Conventions, which is the harmonizing of opinion; and in the coming Convention that will be the chief object, with the Democrats, at least; since common consent has already recognized Gov. Reid as our next nominee.

In what we have said, we are actuated by no feelings of hostility to our brethren resident in the central part of the State. We would not begin to raise the cry of Raleigh clique against them; on the contrary, we wish, if possible, to guard against any course which might give occasion, or afford a pretext for the raising of that cry; and we look to them with confidence for assistance in our endeavors. We know that they have no desire to dictate to the party, and we hope that they will not fail to give such proofs of their disposition in this regard as will satisfy the party throughout the State.

By way of Excuse.

In "Charles O'Malley" or some other Irish novel, there is an anecdote of a "fine old Irish gentleman," whose only failings were a fondness for hair-triggers and hot-punches and a decided conviction of the vulgarity of debt paying. By way of excuse for the latter weakness he used to curse one Jim Moloney, remarking that if the d-rascal had not cheated him out of a twenty pound note he could have paid all his debts—amounting by the way to something like twenty thousand. The loss of the twenty pound note was a positive God send, for like charity it covered a multitude of sins.

It strikes us that the present failure of the mails stands the newspaper press in nearly the same stead that the loss of the twenty pounds note did the indebted, inebriated and infuriated Hibernian gentleman; as it forms a most excellent excuse for any and all short-comings, the whole blame of which is thrown upon the mails.

We can fancy the contents of the bags which have accumulated "North of Richmond." Little *billet doux* there are with vows of love warm enough to melt the Potomac, and why don't they? In close and neighborly proximity to these are bills of lading for castor oil and camelline—shipped on board the schooner something or other, whereof Snooks is master, etc., and there be bank notes and other valuable matters of that kind which are really worth having, to say nothing of the communication of "Our New York Correspondent" of many a southern paper—the same correspondence serving the turn of any number of journals and hebdomadals, whether they are worth having is a question.

In good so far as earnestness though, the stoppage of the mails is a very serious deprivation to all classes and professions, but more especially to those whose chief commodity & stock in trade they are. We chase a piece of news through all sorts of channels and hunt an idea till it is fatigued and then it hides in a corner of our brain somewhere about the bump of combativeness, and that makes us mad. The thing is dreadful. We are put out by the mails. They are not to be depended upon, and the serious question arises whether the females are more reliable. We repeat it, fellow-citizens, this is a serious question, and rises in sublimity and importance, if you should happen to be bachelors. Therefore do us serious and sincere, when we assure you that we know nothing about it.

The Democratic Review.

We have received the January number of this standard periodical, but have not yet had time to examine it. The captions of its articles give promise of interest, and its mechanical execution is much improved. We notice that it has passed into the hands of D. W. Holly, as publisher; the Editor is not announced, but who ever he is, his abilities are evidently with Judge Douglas as the next democratic nominee.

Miss Catharine Hayes, "the Irish swann," passed through this place on Monday last, on her way South.

Valentines.

As a sort of preliminary to the campaign, a dreadful note of preparation portentous of impending hostilities, we notice that the business columns of the newspapers begin to swarm with advertisements headed "Valentines, Valentines;" therefore do we conjecture that Valentine's day must be "about" somewhere near the premises—and will shortly be on hand; and as this is leap-year—the private and peculiar property of the ladies—it is to be hoped that the manufacturers of ammunition will display so much taste in getting up the deadly missiles that it will be rather a pleasure than a pain to be slaughtered by them. It is highly probable, however, that the propulsive power has more to do with the execution than has the mere "paper pellet of the brain" sent, a pair of bright eyes being like the sling of David, capable of producing dreadful effects, with the simplest machinery. But we leave all these things in the hands of our neighbor of the Herald, who is posted up on all such subjects, and can treat them *con amore*, while with us it is a mere matter of abstract speculation. Indeed, our evidence would be inadmissible in a court of justice, as it is purely hearsay; whereas the Herald-man—but we respect his modesty, and spare his blushes. There's the Gulick—history stamped him as 36 years of age, and a bachelor—he couldn't stand it—he incontinently backed out from his perilous position—he perpetrated matrimony—he became a benedict, and was happy. May he always be as happy as his heart can desire. Yea, verily, Amen.

The *Stethoscope* is a monthly Medical Journal, published at Richmond, Va., of which the first number of the 2d volume is on our table. We know little of the science of medicine, and are only interested in the treatment of tooth-ache—a very much neglected subject.

THE WHIG ALMANAC FOR 1852.—We have received from the publishers, Messrs. Greely & McElrath, of New York, a very neatly printed pamphlet of 64 pages, bearing the above title, and filled with excellent statistical tables, which will be found valuable as matters of reference during the election times of this year, since they contain election returns carefully made up from every state and territory in the Union. The politics squeezed into the Almanac are protectionist, but there is little of that sort, and no other kind of Greelyism at all.

Congress.

On Friday the Senate was engaged with the private calendar, and sundry bills for the relief of sundry persons were passed. They have not voted as anything yet. On Saturday the Senate was not in session. On Monday Mr. Hale presented a petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Not entertained.

For some time past the House has been occupied with the debate on the Mexican Indemnity Bill. The object of the bill is to prescribe the mode in which the payments yet due to Mexico shall be made. The mode to be adopted in making such disbursements as shall be made has generally been left to the executive, but it is contended that in this case such usage should be departed for definite reasons. The allegation is, that there had been a verbal understanding on the part of Gen. Taylor's cabinet, that it would meet the wishes of Mexico as to the payment of the instalments, for the anticipation of which that Government was willing to allow the United States four and a half per cent; instead of which a contract was concluded with the Messrs. Baring, at three and a half—by which a loss had been sustained, and an act of injustice perpetrated with reference to a sister Republic. If the bill should pass, it will be equivalent to an expression of distrust towards Mr. Webster. We have not looked fully into the debates, but will do so soon. Until then we cannot express any decided opinion in regard to the merits of the controversy.

Perhaps our remarks above would be more accurate if they confined the implied censure of Mr. Webster, to that particular portion of the bill prescribing the manner of making payment. The bill as originally reported some days since by the committee of Ways and Means, simply appropriated money for the payment of the last instalment of the Mexican indemnity. It is proposed to couple it with an amendment directing the mode in which the payment shall be made, and in this amendment, and not in the bill itself, consists the expression of distrust towards Mr. Webster.

South Carolina Rail Road.

From the annual report of the President and Directors of the South Carolina Railroad, we learn that the gross receipts of the road for the year ending 31st December, 1851, have been \$1,000,707 98, being an increase of \$87,977 73 over those of the preceding year. The net profits after paying interest on debt and cost of management have been \$455,382 85. Two semi-annual dividends of 3 1/2 per cent, each have been declared during the year amounting to \$271,600 00, leaving a surplus of \$183,782 85 to be added to the reserved fund.

Somewhat Ridiculous.

A weekly paper called *Our Country* has been started at Boston by C. W. Denison, for the purpose of forwarding the election of Mr. Webster to the Presidency and Howell Cobb to the Vice Presidency. Its political platform is a protectionist Tariff and a general system of internal improvements by the general government. With truth and sincerity may Mr. Cobb pray to be saved from his friends, especially such friends as the aforesaid Denison. A union of Webster and Cobb is perfectly ridiculous in itself, but sublimely so if pretended to have its foundation in the above measures.

The Forrest Divorce Case.

This apparently interminable case has at length been brought to a close. On Monday morning, the Jury returned a sealed verdict to the effect that Mr. Forrest had been guilty of adultery, and that his wife was innocent. They also awarded an alimony of \$3,000 to be paid to her annually. The verdict caused some excitement, but seems to have been generally approved. Application was made for a new trial. It is now under argument.

The British steamship *America* arrived at Halifax on Sunday morning. She brings three days late news from Europe.

France was quiet. It was reported that a serious misunderstanding had occurred between the President and Lord Normanby, the British Ambassador, relative to Belgium, and that the latter was about to return to England. The difficulty is probably in regard to the demand made upon Belgium for the extradition of political offenders. The promulgation of the new constitution had been deferred for ten days. There is no other political news of interest. The markets will be found under the proper head.

Gen. Franklin Pierce.

This gentleman, who was nominated for the presidency by the New Hampshire Democratic State Convention, has written a letter to the chairman of that body acknowledging the honor but declining to let his name go before the Baltimore Convention in connection with the office.

On the 26th inst., the Legislature of Louisiana elected J. P. Benjamin, whig, U. States Senator from that State. We presume that Benjamin takes the place of Mr. Downs.

Esterhazy and Bathanyany.

Letters have recently been published in the London Times over the signatures of Prince Paul Esterhazy and Count Casimir Bathanyany, in which the past conduct and present position of Louis Kossuth are pretty severely criticised. These gentlemen were prominent actors in the Hungarian troubles, both having been members of the Government of which Louis Bathanyany, Casimir's relative, was head. It is almost unnecessary to say that they belong to the proudest and most aristocratic families in Europe, "proud as an Esterhazy" having become a proverbial expression; and it may be that their estimate of Kossuth is modified by their monarchical and aristocratic proclivities.

Bathanyany says, and we presume with truth, that at first no party in Hungary entertained any thought of a breach with Austria or a dissolution of the connection existing between the two countries. The Emperor, as King of Hungary, had acceded to all the demands made, and it was only the discovery of bad faith on the part of Austria, which hurried some of the more impulsive Hungarian leaders, Kossuth among the number, into the open rupture and subsequent struggle which has turned out so disastrously for their country.

"Deficient in the knowledge of men and things, in the steadfast bearing, cool judgment and comprehensive mind of a statesman, and without the firm hand of a ruler; setting at naught all sound calculation, while he played a game of chance, and staked the fate of the nation on the cast of a die; encountering danger with hairbrained temerity when remote, but shrinking from it when near; elated and overbearing in prosperity, but utterly prostrate in adversity; wanting that strength and intrepidity of character that alone commands homage and obedience from others, while he suffered himself to be made the tool of every intriguer he came in connection with; mistaking his manifold accomplishments and natural genius for an aptitude to govern a country in times of trouble; and setting, in the flights of fancy, no bounds to the scope of his ambition, Kossuth hurried away the nation into a course of the most impolitic measures, and grasped the highest power in the realm by dubious means; but when scarcely in possession of it, suffered it to be wrested from his hands by the man whom he had himself most injudiciously raised to a high station, and against whom, although he had received repeated warnings, as well as proofs of his treachery and worthlessness, he never dared openly and boldly to proceed—the man whom he had hoped to ensnare while he crouched beneath him in abject fear, but by whom he was finally outwitted."

In the succeeding paragraphs of his letter, the Count shows no little jealousy and soreness upon the score of the exclusive honors paid to Kossuth, and condemns in the most direct terms his avowed desire to recast the Hungarian constitution into a republican mold; arguing that republicanism is contrary to the genius, habits and traditions of the nation, which is now, and always has been, eminently aristocratical and monarchical in its social and political tendencies.

There is one thing perfectly certain. There was during the Revolution, and there is now, two parties among the Hungarian people. One the progressive, republican party of Kossuth. The other the conservative party under the aristocratic leaders; these latter adopting the British Aristocracy as their model, and regarding the existing social fabric and the prescriptive privileges of their order as matter of as much if not more importance than the political independence of their country. They would not sacrifice themselves for the difference, and certainly would prefer to be nobles of an Austrian province rather than humble citizens in a Hungarian republic. It is therefore certain that they have very little sympathy with Kossuth in his avowed purpose to introduce American republicanism.

After all, there may be something in the old saying, that still water runs deep. If the converse of it be true, it might suggest a train of thought not complimentary to the depth of the Hungarian order. Extreme versatility may be combined with steadiness of purpose and an iron will; but we rather fear for the powers of continued concentration which we may fairly expect under such circumstances. It must be a very rare character indeed, that can combine the firm hand of a ruler with the meteoric eloquence of a political Peter the Hermit. Most certainly Kossuth's speeches combine more solid logic, with more brilliant orientalisms, than anything which the 19th century has produced, and the man, while eminently a dramatic character, has never for a moment tumbled or overstepped the modesty of nature since coming to the United States.

Were Kossuth to die to-day his fame would live forever as a man of most brilliant accomplishments, exalted genius, and surpassing eloquence; while we feel convinced that the developments of time would only show more clearly and convincingly the purity of his motives. But whether he would be regarded as a sound statesman and an able ruler is quite another thing. That, time alone can tell. Other struggles may yet have to be fought. Other opportunities may yet be afforded for retrieving the errors of the past; and it may fairly be hoped that the pressure of adversity, and the stern lessons of experience will have the effect of sobering the visions of hopeful genius into the cold calculations of reality and prudence, so that no trust may be betrayed and no nation be again ruined.

The Duplin Meeting.

It will be seen by the proceedings in another column that our Democratic friends in Duplin county have held a meeting and appointed Delegates to a District Convention to be held in Wilmington on the 23d day of April next, for the purpose of appointing a delegate to the National Convention to meet at Baltimore on the 1st of June.

A preference was expressed for James Buchanan and Robert Strange, as candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, but without disparagement to the claims of other prominent and reliable Democrats. We hope that the example of the Duplin Democracy will be followed by other county meetings throughout the State. We have little doubt but that the ticket recommended will meet the approval of the great body of the party in the State, and the respectful expression of a preference, while it can prejudice no one, will afford some data upon which the delegates appointed can rely for their guidance.

Gov. Reid has been recommended for re-election, but no delegates have been appointed to a State Convention. This we presume will be attended to at a subsequent meeting, as more than one court will be held in the county before the assembling of the Convention.

Gen. Houston has been nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Conventions of Texas and Louisiana.

COLD.—The thermometer in Philadelphia has been seven degrees below zero for several days this winter. The skating is excellent, and the navigation not at all. So we learn from the Bulletin.

It strikes us that Editors must be high official characters, from the fact that they are in-augmented often than any other class in the community. They are before a clean through, and yet have hard work to save their bacon.

We feel sick, which is the only excuse we can offer for the perpetration of the above atrocity.

The snow is said to have fallen, on an average, on Monday week, in New York, twelve inches and in Philadelphia ten.

There are rumors, how far reliable we cannot say, to the effect that Mr. Fillmore has finally and definitely concluded to be a candidate for the nomination of the Whig Convention—that in consequence, Mr. Webster intending also to be a candidate, will shortly vacate his place in the Cabinet. It is also said that there is and has been considerable variance between the President and the Secretary of State in regard to the amount of countenance which should be given to Kossuth. Two-thirds at least of these rumors may be set down as true, among the certainties are the candidacy of Mr. Fillmore and the evident difference between his tone and that of Mr. Webster on the Hungarian question. Fillmore, Webster, Scott and Crittenden, are fairly in the field for the Whig nomination. Fillmore or Scott will get it. Most probably the former.

The genial editor of the Boston Post, lucky dog that he is, rejoiceth in the possession of a host of witty correspondents, who certainly eluminate some queer and quizzical ideas. We notice in the Post of the 23d, one who signs himself "Outsider," gives the following, by way of illustrating his own unfortunate position at a crowded concert, given by Madame Anna Thillon. He was an outsider, and could not get a seat. The condition of persons so situated, very much resemble one of old Noah's passengers, whose physical peculiarities have thus been handed down by oral tradition:

It seems that when the ark was put in commission, Noah, in providing his cabin stores, included a little private stock of New England, (or something like it), and on the second day out, during the dog-watch, while Ham andaphet were spinning a yarn on deck, the skipper was below with the critter taking a private snifter. All at once a sudden *thurr-r-r-r* startled him from his propriety. "Hallo! what's that?" says he. But nothing answered, and he pegged away at the demijohn again, thinking it might possibly have been a little huzzing in his ears, when a sudden rattle again came to him, he taken, was followed up by him with a polite invitation to "come down and take snuff to take"—still, however, without eliciting the courtesy of a reply. If the stranger wasn't dry, Noah was (inside), and he had taken another slap at his case-bottle when a third *thurr-r-r-r* fairly brought him on his legs. "Really, Ham andaphet were spinning a yarn, he thought, a glimpse of a little phiz, 'half human, half divine,' to which he addressed as polite an invitation as his wiggly condition would allow, to come down and sit down with him, even if 'a little snuff to take' wasn't agreeable. The request was altogether too courteous to be refused, and the story goes, that a woe was replied, 'I'm much obliged, I can sit down—'n' cherry-bum, and I haint got nothing to sit down on.'"

For the Journal.

At a meeting of the democratic party of Duplin, held at Kenansville on Tuesday the 20th inst., the following proceedings were had:

Major Owen R. Kenan was called to the chair, and on motion of W. E. Hill, Esq., Benjamin F. Grady was appointed secretary.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed by the chair to draft resolutions for the action of the meeting, consisting of David Reid, Dr. James G. Dickson, Wm. J. Houston, George Smith, and S. M. Grady, Esqrs., who reported through David Reid, Esq., the following preamble and resolution, viz:

WHEREAS, It has been recommended by the Democratic National Committee that a convention of the democratic party throughout the Union, by delegates duly appointed, be held in the city of Baltimore, on the 1st of June, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States;

Resolved, That we recommend that a District Convention be held in the town of Wilmington on Thursday the 23d day of April next, to be composed of delegates appointed by the Democrats in the several counties in this "on-gestional District, for the purpose of appointing a delegate to said National Convention.

Resolved, That the Democratic party of Duplin stands firm by its ancient and honored principles—States rights—equal concession to the rights and interests of each member of the confederacy, and the largest liberty to the citizen—and by these principles we will stand or fall.

Resolved, That the undersigned, James Buchanan as the preference of the State of North Carolina for the presidency—but we will let our hearty support to the nominee of the National Convention.

Resolved, That the State of North Carolina has heretofore modestly withheld from pressing the claims which she has to the democracy of the Union, but we feel now that something is due to her, and that in the Hon. Robert Strange she possesses a son entitled to the consideration of the democratic party for the office of Vice President.

Resolved, That we have unbounded confidence in the integrity of the Hon. David S. Reid, and in his sound political policy, and we respectfully recommend him to the people of North Carolina for re-election.

On motion of Col. John E. Hussey, the question was put upon the adoption of said resolutions and passed unanimously.

During the absence of the committee, Wm. E. Hill, Esq., being called upon, addressed the meeting in an eloquent and forcible speech of some length, which was received with great applause.

The following gentlemen were named by the chair as delegates to attend the District Convention in Wilmington on the 23d April next, viz: James Pearsall, George Smith, James Dickson, Hampton Sullivan, David Sloan, Stephen Graham, Wm. E. Hill, James H. Jerman, Cornelius McMillan, William R. Ward, Dr. James W. Blount, Bryan W. Herring, William J. Houston, Joshua N. Loftin, William Farrier and David Reid.

On motion, the chairman and secretary were added to the list of delegates.

On motion of James B. Monk, Esq.,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and forwarded to the Democratic presses of the State with a request that they be published.

On motion of Dr. J. G. Dickson, the meeting adjourned.

O. R. KENAN, Chairman.

B. F. GRADY, Secretary.

Cold Weather at the North.

Extract of a letter from Baltimore to a commission house in this place, dated

JANUARY 22, 1852.

"The schooner H. P. Russell has been ready for sea since last week, but cannot get out on account of the ice. Our bay is frozen over to Rappahannock, 120 miles, and all navigation suspended, and much distress below."

Discharge of the Christiansa Prisoners.

LANCASTER, Jan. 23.

The bills preferred against the Christiansa prisoners for murder and riot were returned this morning by the Grand Jury, "no bills," and all the prisoners were discharged by John L. Thompson, Esq., District Attorney.

So ends the last act in this farce of legal justice.

A REMARKABLE PHENOMENON.—In the New York Times of Wednesday morning, was published a telegraphic despatch from Newport, announcing that a "large steamship, with side wheels and three masts, apparently one of the Collins line, was plainly seen at 3 o'clock, on the previous afternoon, off the beach, standing westward of the shore."

A communication from Capt. Luce, of the Arctic, gives the following extraordinary statement: "The steamship Arctic, on Tuesday, the 20th of January, at 3 P. M., passed the harbor of Newport. Beavertail light off the harbor was distant: sixty-two miles, and the town of Newport was consequently sixty-five miles away. At the time a vapor, like that arising from hot water was floating over the sea, rising from one to four feet above the surface. Several of my passengers expressing their surprise at this appearance, inquired the probable cause. The lights, on the same night, appeared double, one above the other, the lower, or what seemed to be the reflected light, becoming visible several minutes before the upper or actual light. The phenomenon, therefore, of the Arctic being seen with the naked eye, at a distance of sixty-five miles, is clearly the effect of mirage."

An exchange infers that Dryden wasn't opposed to mint juleps, from a remark he once made, that "straws may be made the instruments of happiness."

From the Daily Journal, 27th inst.

The Mississippi Correspondence.

We alluded yesterday to the publication of the correspondence which preceded Kossuth's leaving the U. S. steamship *Mississippi* at Gibraltar. The publication is made in the New York Times of the 22d, and is accompanied by an introduction stating that the action of our Government in sending for Kossuth and his companions met with the strong disapprobation of John E. Hodge, Esq., U. S. consul at Marseilles; that Com. Morgan of the Mediterranean squadron, was opposed to detaching any of his vessels for that purpose, and that Capt. Long was opposed to going in her. After relating facts already known, the Times alludes to the application of Kossuth for leave to pass through France, and concludes its introduction as follows:

On the third day an answer was received refusing him permission. Kossuth gave to a Marseilles editor the request which he had made, and the answer which he had received. They were published. This alarmed the Prefet and Consul Hodge; and the Consul addressed a letter, couched in violent and offensive terms, charging Kossuth with having compromised the dignity of the United States, to Capt. Long, who handed the letter to Governor Kossuth, thereby implicitly endorsing its sentiments.

Kossuth who had been waiting on shore the answer of the French Government, returned on board the *Mississippi*. Soon there were many boats floating about the ship, filled with people, who sang the Marseilles hymn, and sent up cries of "America." "Captain" &c., &c. Capt. Long passed the deck with a stern look, and in much apparent excitement. A beautiful wreath was taken from the United States flag in one of the boats and thrown up to the deck of the *Mississippi*. But Capt. Long still deigned no notice of the compliments and honors which the patriotic people were showering upon him. A general order was given to come down from the poop, guards, and other prominent places. Capt. Long then walked up to Gov. Kossuth, and requested him to be drawn from the poop of the ship, adding that he was compromising our flag, or that if he remained there he would compromise our flag. Gov. Kossuth withdrew, and on the same day he addressed the following letter to the Consul Hodge:—

U. S. CONSUL Marseilles, Sept. 20, 1851.

Sir: I have received the letter from the United States, having accorded me its generous protection, knew very well to have accorded it to a man who has the honor to meet some sympathy everywhere where the words "freedom and human rights" have an echo in the breasts of men.

The people of the United States themselves expressed this sympathy highly enough; and the Government of the United States did not take this expression for a motive not to grant me its protection; but rather for a motive to grant it.

So the government of the United States will be pleased, I confidently trust, to hear that even in every place of Europe where we stopped, this sympathy is freely, openly, warmly shared by the people.

That is one view which I take about the political direction of the sentiments of your Government.

The other is that I confidently trust that your Government was willing to give me liberty, and not prison, sir; else I would have not accepted your Government's offered protection to me.

Please remember all that has happened since my arrival here.

I requested permission to pass through France.—No answer was given me before the third day. I was ashore meanwhile; and you know that I not even left the Hotel in order that I might not provoke any manifestation of that sympathy which I consider not only lawful but to push back, but even bound in honor to be indulged with, and thankful to accept. You know the people of Marseilles were rather anxiously scrupulous not to cause any difficulties to me by the display of their sympathy. All was quiet.

The refusal came. It was an answer to my letter, written to M. LePrefet by myself. The answer was given through your interference; but it was, and must have been given to me. Yourself, sir, considered it to be so. I suppose you handed me the letter without any restriction, rather with the advice to take a copy of it. I would have felt authorized to do so, even without your advice; because it was only exclusively myself who was concerned in the matter.

A government, and chiefly a constitutional one—yes, a republican one—should never shun publicity of its orders. It judges, without any advantage to it. Does a government, on the contrary, hum its publicity? In my opinion the principles of the U. S. States can only approve and side with publicity, which is in no way contrary to law, even in the French Republic.

Besides, I had a right to complain; the French Republic, a newspaper, without any advantage to me, motive, I having offered to pass rapidly, without stopping in any place, and even declared to you to be willing to accept every loyal and honorable advice of the government in respect to my passage; so that my passage would and could not produce any excitement, whereas, to forbid this passage, could be to produce excitement, of course, I have a right to complain against the refusal, violating, without any motive, the rights of humanity and hospitality, which I was the more entitled to claim as the French constitution proclaimed to the world to take for basis the principle of freedom and fraternity.

And yet I made no complaint. I only communicated the facts, without any advantage to myself, marks, the letter wrote and the answer I received. It was lawful—it was due to my position, and not even contrary to the rules of etiquette, which I am well acquainted with, and will ever observe, except where etiquette should claim the sacrifice of my honor and my rights.

But you know, sir, it was not this communication which caused the people of Marseilles to express to me, in a warm, but dignified and graceful manner, its sympathies; because this happened at noon and afternoon; the letters were published in the evening; the remarks and annexed opinion of the editor, I have nothing to do with.

You yourself did me the honor to accompany me from the hotel to the boat. You saw that the exclamations of the people, being in no way provoked, had nothing of disorder in themselves; but rather were highly honorable to myself, to the people, and even to you.

We returned to the frigate. In the afternoon a hundred boats were floating around the *Mississippi*, singing national songs, offering garlands of laurel to me, garlands of immortals to America, and shouting "Hurrahs!" to the Republic, to the United States of America, and to myself. Called forth by the shouts of the people, I mounted on the deck, and uncovered my head, bowed to thank the people, without speaking one single word. I was surprised to see the captain of the frigate walk along the deck, without waving his cap to acknowledge the cheers given to America; but my surprise was still heightened, to see Captain Long accost me in a reproaching manner—that I am compromising him by staying on deck. I answered, "I hope I will meet a generous welcome from your people also, and I am sure you would not have me refuse it. I am in the very position here. I will, in honor and conscience, feel bound thankfully to acknowledge, every where, the sympathy I meet; and am confident that your people and your government can but approve this, and feel in no way compromised to learn that the people of Marseilles did, in a graceful manner, cheer the United States in my name."

You received on board your ship; and I beg to be assured that I have the sentiment of what is due to you and convenient to me. It appears we have different views about what may be thought compromising to your position. So I free you from the embarrassment, and entreat you to land me wherever you please. But as long as I have the honor to be on board your ship, you had better to command me, and I will obey." And I left the deck, and caused all my companions to do the same. The people upon the boats continued to cheer yet for a while, then went away peacefully as it came, without the consolation of a single acknowledged sign from the *Mississippi*.

These are the incidents of our staying in the Bay of Marseilles.

And yet, sir, you were pleased to judge convenient to send me word to day (and that also, not directly, but by a letter written to Capt. Long) that "your position and the flag of the United States had been compromised by these incidents."

This is a heavy charge, sir, deeply wounding my honor and my sentiments of deepest respect to your glorious land.

It cannot be passed in silence. I feel bound in honor to bring the matter before the people of the United States and your government, and entreat their verdict about it.

Jan. 23, 1852.

CIVIS.

But having the firm conviction that wherever I meet a free, spontaneous, lawful, and honorable expression of whatever people's sympathy, I am bound in honor and conscience to respect it with esteem, and not to refuse it, but thankfully to accept—on the other side, you being here, the organ of your government which I am revering with high veneration, it is my duty to let by his position seems, in your opinion, to be a man who compromises the glorious flag of the